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PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

Montgomery, Alabama:

OUR STRUGGLE

Martin Luther King



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Volume I Number 2

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In this Issue-

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He is descended from a long line of Southern ministers, and is now Pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

THE NEXT ISSUE will include an analysis by A. J. Muste of recent events in the Soviet Union.



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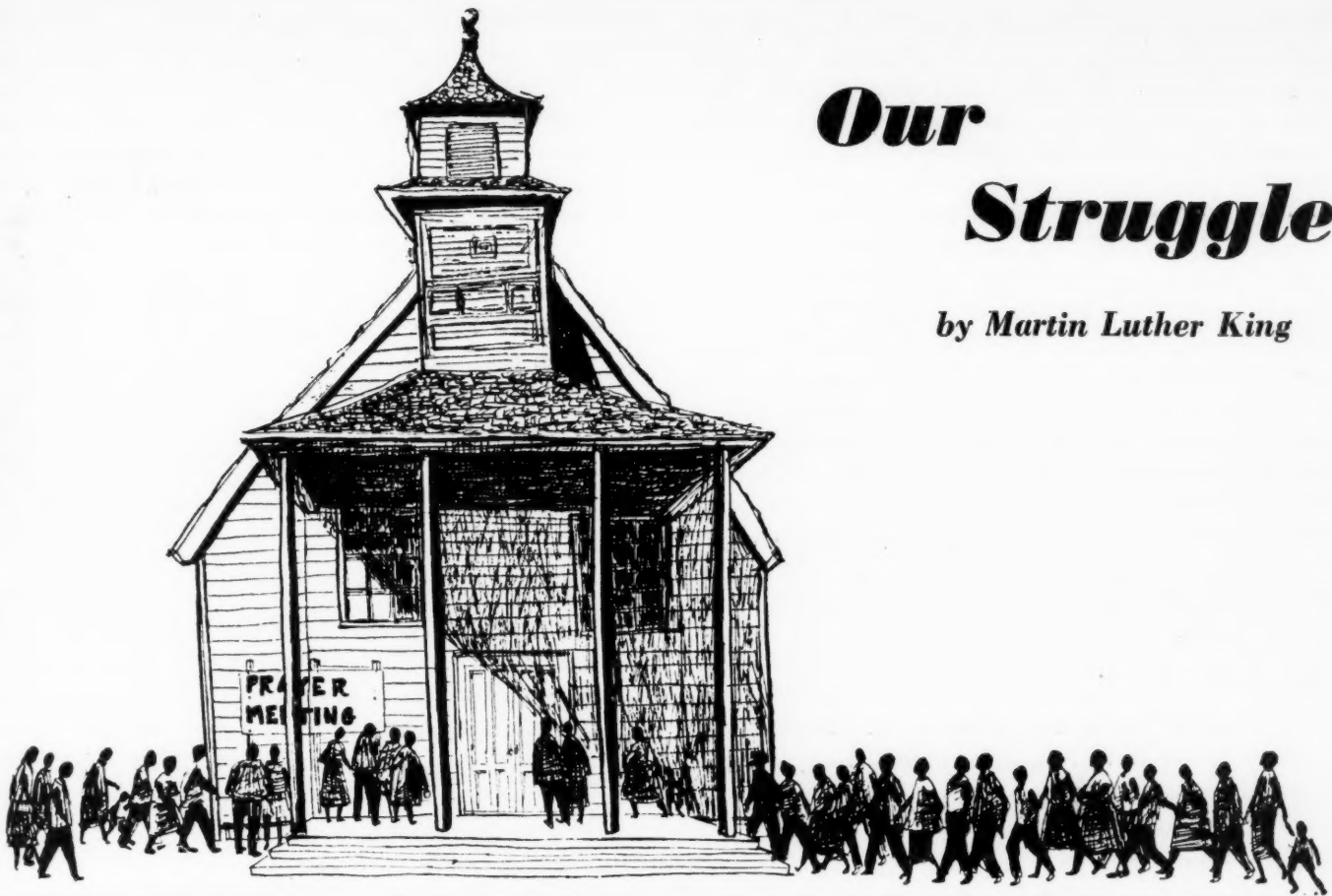
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Our Struggle

by Martin Luther King



THE SEGREGATION of Negroes, with its inevitable discrimination, has thrived on elements of inferiority present in the masses of both white and Negro people. Through forced separation from our African culture, through slavery, poverty, and deprivation, many black men lost self-respect.

In their relations with Negroes, white people discovered that they had rejected the very center of their own ethical professions. They could not face the triumph of their lesser instincts and simultaneously have peace within. And so, to gain it, they rationalized—insisting that the unfortunate Negro, being less than human, deserved and even enjoyed second class status.

They argued that his inferior social, economic and political position was good for him. He was incapable of advancing beyond a fixed position and would therefore be happier if encouraged not to attempt the impossible. He is subjugated by a superior people with an advanced way of life. The "master race" will be able to civilize him to a limited degree, if only he will be true to his inferior nature and stay in his place.

White men soon came to forget that the Southern social culture and all its institutions had been organized to perpetuate this rationalization. They observed a caste system and quickly were conditioned to believe

that its social results, which they had created, actually reflected the Negro's innate and true nature.

In time many Negroes lost faith in themselves and came to believe that perhaps they really were what they had been told they were—something less than men. So long as they were prepared to accept this role, racial peace could be maintained. It was an uneasy peace in which the Negro was forced to accept patiently injustice, insult, injury and exploitation.

Gradually the Negro masses in the South began to re-evaluate themselves—a process that was to change the nature of the Negro community and doom the social patterns of the South. We discovered that we had never really smothered our self-respect and that we could not be at one with ourselves without asserting it. From this point on, the South's terrible peace was rapidly undermined by the Negro's new and courageous thinking and his ever-increasing readiness to organize and to act. Conflict and violence were coming to the surface as the white South desperately clung to its old patterns. The extreme tension in race relations in the South today is explained in part by the revolutionary change in the Negro's evaluation of himself and of his destiny and by his determination to struggle for justice. *We Negroes have replaced self-pity with self-respect and self-depreciation with dignity.*

When Mrs. Rosa Parks, the quiet seamstress whose arrest precipitated the non-violent protest in Montgomery, was asked why she had refused to move to the rear of a bus, she said: "It was a matter of dignity; I could not have faced myself and my people if I had moved."

The New Negro

MANY OF THE NEGROES who joined the protest did not expect it to succeed. When asked why, they usually gave one of three answers: "I didn't expect Negroes to stick to it", or, "I never thought we Negroes had the nerve", or, "I thought the pressure from the white folks would kill it before it got started."

In other words, our non-violent protest in Montgomery is important because it is demonstrating to the Negro, North and South, that many of the stereotypes he has held about himself and other Negroes are not valid. Montgomery has broken the spell and is ushering in concrete manifestations of the thinking and action of the new Negro.

We now know that:

WE CAN STICK TOGETHER. In Montgomery, 42,000 of us have refused to ride the city's segregated busses since December 5. Some walk as many as fourteen miles a day.

OUR LEADERS DO NOT HAVE TO SELL OUT. Many of us have been indicted, arrested, and "mugged". Every Monday and Thursday night we stand before the Negro population at the prayer meetings and repeat: "It is an honor to face jail for a just cause."

THREATS AND VIOLENCE DO NOT NECESSARILY INTIMIDATE THOSE WHO ARE SUFFICIENTLY AROUSED AND NON-VIOLENT. The bombing of two of our homes has made us more resolute. When a handbill was circulated at a White Citizens Council meeting stating that Negroes should be "abolished" by "guns, bows and arrows, sling shots and knives", we responded with even greater determination.

OUR CHURCH IS BECOMING MILITANT. Twenty-four ministers were arrested in Montgomery. Each has said publicly that he stands prepared to be arrested again. Even upper-class Negroes who reject the "come to Jesus" gospel are now convinced that the church has no alternative but to provide the non-violent dynamics for social change in the midst of conflict. The \$30,000 used for the car pool, which transports over 20,000 Negro workers, school children and housewives, has been raised in the churches. The churches have become the dispatch centers where the people gather to wait for rides.

WE BELIEVE IN OURSELVES. In Montgomery we walk in a new way. We hold our heads in a new way. Even the Negro reporters who converged on Montgomery have a new attitude. One tired reporter, asked at a luncheon in Birmingham to say a few words about Montgomery, stood up, thought for a moment, and uttered one sentence: "Montgomery has made me proud to be a Negro."

ECONOMICS IS PART OF OUR STRUGGLE. We are aware that Montgomery's white businessmen have tried to "talk sense" to the bus company and the city commissioners. We have observed that small Negro shops are thriving as Negroes find it inconvenient to walk downtown to the white stores. We have been getting more polite treatment in the white shops since the protest began. We have a new respect for the proper use of our dollar.

WE HAVE DISCOVERED A NEW AND POWERFUL WEAPON—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE. Although law is an important factor in bringing about social change, there are certain conditions in which the very effort to adhere to new legal decisions creates tension and provokes violence. We had hoped to see demonstrated a method that would enable us to continue our struggle while coping with the violence it aroused. Now we see the answer: face violence if necessary, but refuse to return violence. If we respect those who oppose us, they may achieve a new understanding of the human relations involved.

WE NOW KNOW THAT THE SOUTHERN NEGRO HAS COME OF AGE, POLITICALLY AND MORALLY. Montgomery has demonstrated that we will not run from the struggle, and will support the battle for equality. The attitude of many young Negroes a few years ago was reflected in the common expression, "I'd rather be a lamp post in Harlem than Governor of Alabama". Now the idea expressed in our churches, schools, pool rooms, restaurants and homes is: "Brother, stay here and fight non-violently. 'Cause if you don't let them make you mad, you can win". The official slogan of the Montgomery Improvement Association is "Justice without Violence."

The Issues in Montgomery

THE LEADERS of the old order in Montgomery are not prepared to negotiate a settlement. This is not because of the conditions we have set for returning to the busses. The basic question of segregation in intra-state travel is already before the courts. Meanwhile we ask only for what in Atlanta, Mobile, Charleston and most other cities of the South is considered the Southern pattern. We seek the right, under segregation, to

seat ourselves from the rear forward on a first come, first served basis. In addition, we ask for courtesy and the hiring of some Negro bus drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

A prominent judge of Tuscaloosa was asked if he felt there was any connection between Autherine Lucy's effort to enter the University of Alabama and the Montgomery non-violent protest. He replied, "Autherine is just one unfortunate girl who doesn't know what she is doing, but in Montgomery it looks like all the niggers have gone crazy."

Later the judge is reported to have explained that "of course the good niggers had undoubtedly been riled up by outsiders, Communists and agitators". It is apparent that at this historic moment most of the elements of the white South are not prepared to believe that "our Negroes could of themselves act like this."

Miscalculation of the White Leaders

BECAUSE THE MAYOR and city authorities cannot admit to themselves that we have changed, every move they have made has inadvertently increased the protest and united the Negro community.

Dec. 1—They arrested Mrs. Parks, one of the most respected Negro women in Montgomery.

Dec. 3—They attempted to intimidate the Negro population by publishing a report in the daily paper that certain Negroes were calling for a boycott of the busses. They thereby informed the 30,000 Negro readers of the planned protest.

Dec. 5—They found Mrs. Parks guilty and fined her \$14. This action increased the number of those who joined the boycott.

Dec. 5—They arrested a Negro college student for "intimidating passengers". Actually, he was helping an elderly woman cross the street. This mistake solidified the college students' support of the protest.

Two policemen on motorcycles followed each bus on its rounds through the Negro community. This attempt at psychological coercion further increased the number of Negroes who joined the protest.

In a news telecast at 6:00 PM a mass meeting planned for that evening was announced. Although we had expected only 500 people at the meeting, over 5,000 attended.

Dec. 6—They began to intimidate Negro taxi drivers. This led to the setting up of a car pool and a resolution to extend indefinitely our protest, which had originally been called for one day only.

Dec. 7—They began to harass Negro motorists. This

encouraged the Negro middle class to join the struggle.

Dec. 8—The lawyer for the bus company said, "We have no intention of hiring Negro drivers now or in the foreseeable future". To us this meant never. The slogan then became, "Stay off the busses until we win."

Dec. 9—The Mayor invited Negro leaders to a conference, presumably for negotiation. When we arrived, we discovered that some of the men in the room were white supremacists and members of the White Citizens Council. The Mayor's attitude was made clear when he said, "Comes the first rainy day and the Negroes will be back in the busses". The next day it did rain, but the Negroes did not ride the busses.

At this point over 42,000 Montgomery Negroes had joined the protest. After a period of uneasy quiet, elements in the white community turned to further police intimidation and to violence.



Jan. 26—I was arrested for travelling 30 miles per hour in a 25 mile zone. This arrest occurred just 2 hours before a mass meeting. So, we had to hold seven mass meetings to accommodate the people.

Jan. 30—My home was bombed.

Feb. 1—The home of E. D. Nixon, one of the protest leaders and former State President of the NAACP, was bombed. This brought moral and financial support from all over the state.

Feb. 22—Eighty-nine persons, including the 24 ministers, were arrested for participating in the non-violent protest.

Every attempt to end the protest by intimidation, by encouraging Negroes to inform, by force and violence, further cemented the Negro community and brought sympathy for our cause from men of good will all over the world. The great appeal for the world appears to

lie in the fact that we in Montgomery have adopted the method of non-violence. In a world in which most men attempt to defend their highest values by the accumulation of weapons of destruction, it is morally refreshing to hear 5,000 Negroes in Montgomery shout "Amen" and "Halleluh" when they are exhorted to "pray for those who oppose you", or pray "Oh Lord, give us strength of body to keep walking for freedom", and conclude each mass meeting with: "Let us pray that God shall give us strength to remain non-violent though we may face death."

The Liberal Dilemma

AND DEATH there may be. Many white men in the South see themselves as a fearful minority in an ocean of black men. They honestly believe with one side of their minds that Negroes are depraved and diseaseridden. They look upon any effort at equality as leading to "mongrelization". They are convinced that racial equality is a Communist idea and that those who ask for it are subversive. They believe that their caste system is the highest form of social organization.

The enlightened white Southerner, who for years has preached gradualism, now sees that even the slow approach finally has revolutionary implications. Placing straws on a camel's back, no matter how slowly, is dangerous. This realization has immobilized the liberals and most of the white church leaders. They have no answer for dealing with or absorbing violence. They end in begging for retreat, lest "things get out of hand and lead to violence."

Writing in *Life*, William Faulkner, Nobel prize-winning author from Mississippi, recently urged the NAACP to "stop now for a moment". That is to say, he encouraged Negroes to accept injustice, exploitation and indignity for a while longer. It is hardly a moral act to encourage others patiently to accept injustice which he himself does not endure.

In urging delay, which in this dynamic period is tantamount to retreat, Faulkner suggests that those of us who press for change now may not know that violence could break out. He says we are "dealing with a fact: the fact of emotional conditions of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go to any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it."

We Southern Negroes believe that it is essential to defend the right of equality now. From this position we will not and cannot retreat. Fortunately, we are increasingly aware that we must not try to defend our position by methods that contradict the aim of brotherhood. We in Montgomery believe that the only way to press on is by adopting the philosophy and practice of non-violent resistance.

This method permits a struggle to go on with dignity and without the need to retreat. It is a method that can absorb the violence that is inevitable in social change whenever deep-seated prejudices are challenged.

If, in pressing for justice and equality in Montgomery, we discover that those who reject equality are prepared to use violence, we must not despair, retreat, or fear. Before they make this crucial decision, they must remember: whatever they do, we will not use violence in return. We hope we can act in the struggle in such a way that they will see the error of their approach and will come to respect us. Then we can all live together in peace and equality.

The basic conflict is not really over the busses. Yet we believe that, if the method we use in dealing with equality in the busses can eliminate injustice within ourselves, we shall at the same time be attacking the basis of injustice—man's hostility to man. This can only be done when we challenge the white community to re-examine its assumptions as we are now prepared to re-examine ours.

We do not wish to triumph over the white community. That would only result in transferring those now on the bottom to the top. But, if we can live up to non-violence in thought and deed, there will emerge an interracial society based on freedom for all.

TRAVEL NOTES FOR SPRING

"O God, the fabulous wings unused,
Folded in the heart."

Christopher Fry

*In Natchez now the ladies float
Like lilies on the polished grass,
Their pointed, polished finger nails
Disguise the claws beneath.*

*In Jackson now the state house hums
With sound of dentist's drill
Honing to a finer point
The southern gentlemen's teeth.*

*In Mississippi angel wings
Folded beneath white skin
Are trembling now and stretching
And struggling for release.*

Norris Lloyd

Bayard Rustin has had many years of direct experience in racial conflicts in the South. In 1946 he served a sentence on the chain gang in North Carolina for refusing to sit in the Negro section of a bus.

He had first-hand contact with the Gandhian non-violent resistance movement in India in 1947, where he went at the invitation of the Congress Party. He also visited Africa in 1953, to study the independence movements there.

LIBERATION asked him to go to Montgomery, Alabama, to report on developments in the bus boycott. He has just returned from a two weeks investigation.



Montgomery Diary

BAYARD RUSTIN

February 21

I ARRIVED in Montgomery this morning and had an interview with Reverend Abernathy, one of the leaders of the non-violent protest. The situation is so tense that men in shifts watch his home while he and his family sleep. I am warned that I will be watched while in town and that it is important that I have the bolts tightly drawn on the windows in my hotel. As one person put it, "This is like war. You can't trust anyone, black or white, unless you know him."

This afternoon I talked with E. D. Nixon, whose home was bombed on February 1st. For years he has been a fearless fighter for Negro rights. He suspects that his home will be bombed again, but says: "They can bomb us out and they can kill us, but we are not going to give in."

Later, I sat in on a conference with a committee of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which coordinates the protest activities. Three recommendations were accepted:

April, 1956

- 1) The movement will always be called a *non-violent protest* rather than a boycott in order to keep its fundamental character uppermost.
- 2) A pin should be designed for all those who do not ride the busses to wear as a symbol of unity, encouragement, and mutual support.
- 3) The slogan for the movement will be "Victory without Violence."

Tonight I walked past Reverend King's house. Lights are strung all around the house, and it is being carefully guarded by Negro volunteers. White police patrol the Negro section of town, two by two. A hotel employee advised me not to go into the streets alone after dark. "If you find it necessary to do so, by all means leave in the hotel everything that identifies you as an outsider. They are trying to make out that Communist agitators and New Yorkers are running our protest."

February 22

ONE HUNDRED leaders of the protest received word that they had been indicted. Many of them did not wait for the police to come but walked to the police station and surrendered. Nixon was the first. He walked into the station and said, "You are looking for me? Here I am". This procedure had a startling effect in both the Negro and the white communities. White community leaders, politicians, and police were flabbergasted. Negroes were thrilled to see their leaders surrender without being hunted down. Soon hundreds of Negroes gathered outside the police station and applauded the leaders as they entered, one by one. Later, those who had been arrested were released on \$300 bail. They gathered at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church for a prayer meeting and sang for the first time a song which had been adopted that morning as the theme song for the movement. The four stanzas proclaim the essential elements of a passive resistance struggle—protest, unity, non-violence and equality. Sung to the tune of the spiritual, *Give Me That Old-Time Religion*, the text is:

We are moving on to vict'ry
With hope and dignity.
We shall all stand together
'Til every one is free.
We know love is the watchword
For peace and liberty.
Black and white all are brothers
To live in harmony.
We are moving on to vict'ry
With hope and dignity.

After the prayer meeting I went to the home of Mrs. Jeanette Reece, a Negro woman who had informed the police that she had not known what she was doing when she signed legal papers to challenge bus discrimination in the courts. A few days earlier her attorney, one of the two Negro lawyers in Montgomery, had been

arrested for fraud, because of Mrs. Reece's retraction. Although the police had provided no protection for King and Nixon after their houses had been bombed, I found two squad cars parked before Mrs. Reece's home. In addition, a policeman was patrolling the area with a machine gun. After ten minutes of negotiation, the police finally permitted me to see Mrs. Reece; her only comment was: "I had to do what I did or I wouldn't be alive today". I felt sorry for her.

February 23

THIS MORNING Reverend King invited me to attend a meeting of the protest committee. The committee decided not to hold any more mass meetings but only prayer meetings. This was to emphasize the moral nature of the struggle. The meetings will center around five prayers:

- 1) A prayer for the success of the meeting.
- 2) A prayer for strength of spirit to carry on non-violently.
- 3) A prayer for strength of body to walk for freedom.
- 4) A prayer for those who oppose us.
- 5) A prayer that all men may become brothers to live in justice and equality.

This afternoon at 3:30 the Negroes began to fill the church for the 7 o'clock prayer meeting. From 4 o'clock on, without leadership, they sang and prayed. Exactly at 7 the one hundred who had been arrested worked their way to the pulpit through 5,000 cheering men, women and children. Overnight these leaders had become symbols of courage. Women held their babies to touch them. The people stood in ovation. Television cameras ground away, as King was finally able to open the meeting. He began: "We are not struggling merely for the rights of Negroes but for all the people of Montgomery, black and white. We are determined to make America a better place for all people. Ours is a non-violent protest. We pray God that no man shall use arms."

February 24

42,000 NEGROES have not ridden the busses since December 5. On December 6, the police began to harass, intimidate, and arrest Negro taxi drivers who were helping get these people to work. It thus became necessary for the Negro leaders to find an alternative—the car pool. They set up 23 dispatch centers where people gather to wait for free transportation.

This morning Rufus Lewis, director of the pool, invited me to attend the meeting of the drivers. On the way, he explained that there are three methods, in addition to the car pool, for moving the Negro population:

- 1) Hitch-hiking.
- 2) The transportation of servants by white housewives.
- 3) Walking.

Later he introduced me to two men, one of whom has walked 7 miles and the other 14 miles, every day since December 5.

"The success of the car pool is at the heart of the movement", Lewis said at the meeting. "It must not be stopped."

I wondered what the response of the drivers would be, since 28 of them had just been arrested on charges of conspiring to destroy the bus company. One by one, they pledged that, if necessary, they would be arrested again and again.

This afternoon the coordinating committee rejected a proposal that people be asked to stop work for one hour on March 28. I was impressed with the leaders' response, which adhered to the Gandhian principle of consideration for one's opponents. As King put it, "We do not want to place too much of a burden upon white housewives nor to give them the impression that we are pushing them against the wall."

This evening a few of the leaders got together to consider a constructive program for inculcating the philosophy of non-violence in the community. After hours of serious discussion, several proposals were accepted. The following impressed me as being particularly significant:

An essay contest for high-school students on the subject, "Why We Should Use Non-violence in Our Struggle."

The distribution of a pamphlet on non-violence. The importance of preaching non-violence in the churches.

The possibility of a workshop on the theory and practice of non-violence.

This meeting concluded with agreement that the committee should do everything possible to negotiate the issues. The Montgomery Improvement Association is asking for these assurances:

Greater courtesy on the part of drivers.

Accepting first come, first served seating within the pattern of segregation while the question of intra-state segregation is being decided in the courts.

The employment of some Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

February 25

THIS MORNING I had a long talk with Reverend Hughes, a white Southerner who is executive secretary of the Alabama Interracial Council with offices in Montgomery. Hughes indicated that his association with an interracial group has always tied his hands in dealing with the conservative whites, who distrust anything interracial. Now the liberals, to whom his group

normally appeals, are also alienated because of the psychological confusion in the changed situation.

For generations the status quo has been based on violence with the Negro as victim. A few whites have managed to be liberal without feeling a direct threat to their social position. Now, as the Negroes reach the stage where they make specific, if minimum, demands, a new and revolutionary situation has developed. There is little middle ground on which to maneuver and few compromises that are possible. For the first time, the white liberals are forced to stand for racial justice, or to repudiate the liberal principles which they have always wanted to believe in.

The one definite principle they can cling to is to condemn overt violence. Even the non-violence of the Negroes has not counterbalanced their horror of the violence which they fear will break out sooner or later. The result is that they are immobilized by confusion and fear.

This afternoon I was finally able to get an original copy of a handbill I had been hearing about since I reached Montgomery. It was distributed by unidentified individuals at a meeting sponsored by the White Citizens Council at Montgomery's State Coliseum on February 10th. 12,000 people attended and Senator Eastland spoke. There's no proof that the leaflet was in any way a part of the official proceedings, but it is reliably reported that thousands of copies were distributed in the meeting hall and that none of the speakers denounced its distribution.

I cannot believe that this leaflet reflects the thinking of all white people in Montgomery. Thousands of them no doubt would be nauseated by it. Yet I report its distribution because such hate literature, against both Ne-



groes and Jews, is being circulated in Alabama and unfortunately is an aspect of the emotional climate in which grave problems must be solved.

The leaflet called for the annihilation of Negroes in these terms:

April, 1956

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary to abolish the Negro race, proper methods should be used. Among these are guns, bow and arrows, sling shots and knives.

We hold these truths to be self evident that all whites are created equal with certain rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of dead niggers.

In every stage of the bus boycott we have been oppressed and degraded because of black, slimy, juicy, unbearably stinking niggers. The conduct should not be dwelt upon because behind them they have an ancestral background of Pygmies, Head hunters and snot suckers.

My friends it is time we wised up to these black devils. I tell you they are a group of two legged agitators who persists in walking up and down our streets protruding their black lips. If we don't stop helping these African flesh eaters, we will soon wake up and find Reverend King in the white house.

LET'S GET ON THE BALL WHITE CITIZENS

This evening I met with several women of the community who were setting up an artistic wing of the movement to carry the philosophy of non-violence to the community. They designed a pin with a cross (to show that the movement is Christian) and a heart (for non-violence). Two feet are superimposed as a symbol of walking for freedom. On the branches of the cross will appear the words: non-violence, brotherhood and love.

February 26 (Sunday)

TOGETHER WITH a number of Negro and white reporters, I attended King's packed church. He spoke simply, emphasizing the non-violent nature of the struggle, and told his congregation, "We are concerned not merely to win justice in the busses but rather to behave in a new and different way—to be non-violent so that we may remove injustice itself, both from society and from ourselves. This is a struggle which we cannot lose, no matter what the apparent outcome, if we ourselves succeed in becoming better and more loving people."

This afternoon I received word that the white community has learned that I am in Montgomery, that I am being watched, and that efforts will be made to get me out of town. I was warned under no circumstances to go into the white areas of the city.

Tonight I spent discussing the protest campaign with Reverend and Mrs. King over coffee in their kitchen. I asked King if he felt that the activities of the White Citizens Council would lead to further bombings and other violence and whether he felt some elements in the Negro community would return violence with violence. He said that he felt the behavior of the White Citizens Council could very easily lead to serious violence and that the results might be catastrophic. "But", he added, "give us six weeks. The spirit of non-violence may so have permeated our community by that time that the whole Negro community will react non-violently."

February 27

I LEARNED this morning from reliable sources that there is some indication that the bombing of the King and Nixon homes was not the work of irresponsible youth or cranks, but had the support of powerful vested interests in the community. There is some evidence that even the dynamite used passed through the hands of some people in the community who should be responsible for the maintenance of order.

This afternoon I attended another meeting of the working committee, which has been up against great problems because the protest, originally planned for one day, is now running into the twelfth week. I am impressed with the seriousness and determination of these people. They are handling their money very carefully and anyone who contributes can be certain that the funds will be spent carefully.

Reverend Abernathy concluded the meeting with a statement which was unanimously adopted:

- 1) *We have all worked hard to make our protest known around the world.*
- 2) *We have kept our struggle Christian and non-violent and intend to keep it so.*
- 3) *Although many have been arrested, we continue our protest, for none of our actions has been illegal.*
- 4) *The car pool continues.*
- 5) *All who were arrested are out on bail thanks to our community's fine spirit.*
- 6) *We have received moral support and encouragement from all over the United States.*
- 7) *The NAACP will help us carry on the legal aspects of the struggle.*
- 8) *We shall have occasional days of prayer and pilgrimage.*
- 9) *We pray God for strength to carry on non-violently.*

As I watched the people walk away, I had a feeling that no force on earth can stop this movement. It has all the elements to touch the hearts of men.





THE DYNAMICS OF THE NEW SOUTH

Sidney Lens

OUT OF LITTLE EVENTS big movements sometimes grow. A tiny incident in Montgomery, Alabama, may yet serve as the practical introduction on a wide scale of Gandhian non-violent resistance in the United States.

In the Southern circumstances, non-violent resistance seems like a perfectly suited weapon. It is in my opinion doubtful that the Gandhian technique can answer the multiple social and political problems of our country. But in the South, at this historical juncture where events stand poised between victory and stalemate, the two other answers to racism—either meeting violence with equal violence, or yielding passively—are both fatal. The unanimous Supreme Court decision overturning school segregation is symptomatic of the scores of legalistic victories since the end of the war. But the buoyed and hostile resistance of such a large sector of the white population indicates that these victories can only be enforced by mass action, that yielding at this point can lead only to catastrophic economic and physical reprisal. Similarly, resort to counter-violence can only muddy the waters and lead to political reprisal by federal and state governments; and to denunciation by the half-hearted politicians and terrified "statesmen" like Adlai Stevenson who want nothing except peace with the Southern Democrats. Resistance of a *non-violent* nature, as in Montgomery, is thus the only indicated alternative.

Undoubtedly this movement will mature and spread. It has already proved its effectiveness, so that it must be emulated. The tactics will vary with the situation, but

the direction is inexorable. We can expect in coming months to find Negroes (and white sympathizers) boycotting other transportation systems elsewhere in the South. Very likely scores of these men and women will be imprisoned. But if they stick to their objective, they must gain their ends. Old-timers can recall the days before World War I when the picturesque Wobblies (the I.W.W.) forced through the rights of free speech in the West through similar tactics. Scores, hundreds of Wobblies mounted soap boxes, started to speak and were then arrested, each in his turn. They did not fight, they merely submitted to the arrests until the jails were packed to the breaking point and the state had to concede. The men were released and went back to their soap boxes—this time unimpeded.

The Impending Struggle

FOR SOUTHERN Negroes such non-violent tactics beckon attractively. If the authorities imprison the leaders of this legal resistance, others must step into the vacated shoes and submit to similar illegal arrest until the conscience of the nation—perhaps of the world—is aroused to defend the victims, and right the wrong.

It seems reasonable to expect that if the states continue to fight integration by camouflaging public schools as "private" institutions, the non-violent retort of the Negro people will be to boycott the schools altogether and perhaps refuse to pay taxes until their rights are respected. Here again the victory will only be won

through stupendous sacrifice, through the willingness of men and women pacifically to yield to imprisonment rather than yield to tyranny. If for the time being the Negro youth must continue his studies in homes or in improvised schools, democracy will have to make this slight detour in order to achieve the final goal.

For the rest of us outside of the South, the impending struggle is of titanic significance. America as a whole can neither fight the totalitarian menace abroad nor the internal menace of militarism until it comes to grips with this piece of unfinished business carried over from the Civil War.

The Economic Pattern

THE SOUTH HAS MADE some important progress since World War II, towards both integration and industrialization (odd how the two go together), but it manifests much of the social and economic regressiveness which the Civil War was supposed to eradicate. The South is still primarily agricultural, largely "rural-minded". As late as 1940 only one-third of the South was urbanized, as against two-thirds elsewhere. Half of all the farms in the country are in the South, though it comprises only 30 per cent of the population. Much of Southern agriculture is sick, confronted with extremely low incomes and under-employment. From 1940 to 1950 average income in these rural areas almost stood still, while it pyramided elsewhere. Thus uneconomic agriculture is still the Achilles' heel that retards Southern progress. Field hands who earn only 35c or 40c an hour, and sharecroppers who often are in debt to the landlord when the crop is divided at the end of the season, are a drag on the whole economic structure. They do not form unions, in fact they are often recruited as strikebreakers. A 75c an hour minimum wage looks so good to them that for a relatively long period they are passive to union organization. If the labor movement could rise beyond its bread and butter outlook to fight seriously for civil rights, union organization might be speeded considerably. But as things stand now, an atavistic agriculture in the South makes possible a low-wage structure, and the low-wage structure and lack of unionization in turn perpetuates political conservatism. The Southern Bourbons have a great stake in this favorable condition; it is their stock-in-trade to attract Northern industry. "Come down," they say to Northern employers, "you have little to worry about. We can assure you relatively low wages and a political climate that makes labor resistance difficult."

Cost to the Whites

WHITE WORKERS—like other segments of the white population—have been sold a bill of goods that jimcrow is their ticket to higher wages. Negro employees earn only half what white workers do

below the Mason-Dixon line. In 1949 an average white in New Orleans had a per capita income of \$2,090, a Negro only \$981; and in Memphis the disparity was even greater, \$2,201 as against \$921. To the unthinking white this is evidence of the gains that result from discrimination. But a more thorough look indicates that the system of jimcrow hurts the white as well as the Negro. Wage rates in the South are much lower than in the North. As of April 1954, the factory average in the North was \$1.84, as against \$1.43 in the South. A comparison of wage increases between April 1950 and October 1954 also reflects this disparity. Workers in the beverage industry in the whole United States in this period had their wages raised by 31c an hour, but in North Carolina it was only 12c. Workers in sawmills throughout the country had their rates boosted 36c per hour as against only 15½c in the South. Jimcrow costs the Negro heavily, in terms of human dignity as well as earnings. But it costs the white dearly too.

The only beneficiary is the Bourbon class which seeks to superimpose a new factory system on agricultural backwardness. It seeks to enrich itself by holding back the clock in one sphere while trying to push it forward in another. The strife over integration, the Autherine Lucy case, the Till murder, the boycotts of bus systems, are but reflections of this historical conundrum.

Pressures for Integration

THE NEGRO cannot be held back much longer. The agriculture on which his economic life has been based is incapable of competing with bonanza farming in the North and West. Tens of thousands of agricultural units in the South are bankrupted. Agricultural employment in the U. S. outside the South fell, from 1947 to 1954, by 16 per cent; but in the South it fell by 21.5 per cent. These redundant men of agriculture, mostly Negro, are being pushed towards the city, both in the North and the South. Agricultural competition with the North and the West is decimating the bastion of Southern backwardness. Negroes who move to the city may be happy with the higher wages there and may be meek for a short time. But this idyllic situation for the Bourbon class cannot last forever. Too many young Negro boys have served in the armed forces and tasted some of the flavor of equality. Too many Negro adults have trekked northward and written back about the relatively better (though not really good) conditions there. Unions in the South, out of sheer self-interest, have been forced to mix the races and to attack, in part at least, the jimcrow pattern which is essentially not only an attack on the Negro but on labor as a whole. Everything meshes with the pattern; the courts, which once held that states could grant "separate but equal" rights, are now calling for complete integration; poll taxes and other devices which deprived

the whole Negro population of the right to vote are now pushed back and the number of Negro voters in the South has grown from 70,000 in the 1920's to 1,100,000 in 1952. From 1940 to 1952 it more than quadrupled, a faithful barometer of the changing times and the continuing social revolution.

Jimcrow might have died a quick death after the Civil War if the Northern industrialists had not become fearful of an alliance between poor white and poor Negro. Faced with such a threat they came to terms with the defeated Bourbons and perpetuated jimcrow. Where the left-wing Republicans had favored giving each emancipated Negro "forty acres and a mule", the right-wing merely gave the Negro the shadow of freedom but only a mite of its substance. It refused to give him the economic basis from which true liberty could emerge. The re-ensconced Bourbons have perpetuated racial division from that time till now, nullifying to a considerable extent—for the South—the benefits that might have accrued if the gains of the Civil War had been completed then. The low purchasing power of the South has severely inhibited the pace of industrial development.



The Changed Situation

OF LATE, however, a whole series of factors makes for the rapid expansion of American industry everywhere and in the South as well. Southern leaders, in an effort to share in this development, have tried to turn their backwardness into an advantage, their low-wage political conservatism into a lure for profit-conscious industrialists. For the moment it has been successful. But the pressures of discrimination, race-hostility and low wages are building up to a climax. In the North, prior to the organization of the CIO in the mid-thirties, management utilized strike-breakers, Mohawk-Valley formulas, police terrorism and what-have-you as a means of repressing labor organization. Their very severity resulted in the mid-thirties in an overpowering surge of labor, and a radical alteration of the American social scene itself. On the heels of CIO and pre-CIO organization, America dropped its laissez-faire, rugged individual philosophy, and took on many of the aspects of the welfare state. Social security, unemployment compensation, direct relief and innumerable other benefits are attributable to this circumstance.

If the signposts of the South are read correctly, the same type of thing is about to happen there. The pressures of radical repression are about to burst the bounds. A dying agriculture tied to a booming industry makes the old pattern impossible. The only question seems to be: what kind of transition will there be? If the Southern leadership were far-seeing and moderate the change could take place with relative peace. But with demagogues like Eastland and the White Citizens Council leading the way, the repression is so great that it cannot but build up equivalent counter-pressures. Those who, like Adlai Stevenson, talk of moderation and patience had better first moderate their own allies in the South because they are the fountainhead of the new viciousness. The sudden realization that integration is definitely on the agenda has filled the Bourbons with terror and geared them to this futile, but zealous, rear-guard action.

Nation-Wide Significance

OUT OF THIS mounting struggle in the South the whole of America may be lifted. A victory for the Negro people below the Mason-Dixon line will fire the nation once again with great coils of idealism. Removal of the Southern reactionaries from pivot chairmanships in Congressional Committees and the Democratic Party cannot but spark a new wave of liberalism and radicalism in our country. It may, for all we know, change the futile direction of the current American foreign policy and the preoccupation with militarism. The struggle for civil rights itself deserves the support of every radical and liberal; but the issue of civil rights is so tied to more basic phenomena that the stakes are immeasurably higher.

Non-violent resistance in the South, though not a panacea in itself, may yet open many new doors in America's future.

"Before the boycott 65% to 70% of our bus passengers were Negroes", says J. F. Bagley, general manager of the Montgomery City Lines, a subsidiary of National City Lines, Chicago. The bus boycott is the only economic pressuring so far to grow into a truly mass movement, but its effectiveness is clear testimony to the potential economic power of such a protest."

The Wall Street Journal
March 8, 1956

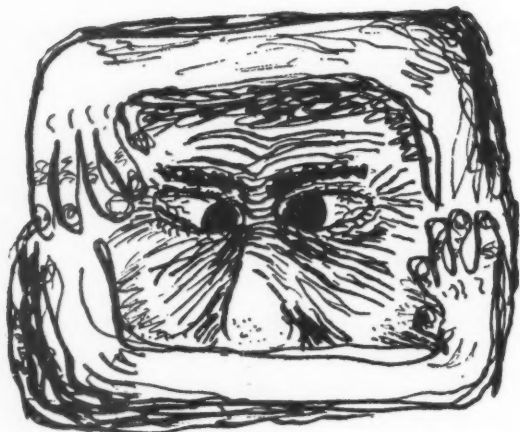
State of Heads

Some time ago we heard someone remark, during a discussion of the perplexity among the diplomats and government officials in these times: "If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs—then it means you just don't understand the situation."

Comments

on the "TRACT FOR THE TIMES"

In order to give adequate space to the developments in the South, we have held additional comments for the May issue.



ROOTS OF APATHY

DON CALHOUN

IN ITS "TRACT FOR THE TIMES" *Liberation* states:

The "politics of the future" must develop from a creative synthesis of the insights of the great ethical and religious teachers and of the collective social concern of the great revolutionaries. The transformation of cultural and political structures and the transformation and creative self-realization of the individual go hand in hand.

The emphasis upon the simultaneous transformation of man and society is, I think, admirable. But in acknowledging sources of enlightenment and inspiration, the editors seem to have left out the whole body of insights into the psychic enslavement of man which have grown out of the work of Freud. In so doing, I think they have omitted our most significant tool for getting to the bottom of social apathy—the central revolutionary task at which neither political revolutionaries nor religious thinkers have succeeded.

Inner Unfreedom

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL revolutionaries advocate the reconstruction of social institutions. This is absolutely necessary—but it is not enough. In Russia, revolution has brought a new class society and new enslavement. In America, economic plenty has brought only a more fattened apathy. Political revolutionaries continue to talk about the "apathy of the masses," to deplore it, to exhort men to rise and break their chains. But they

can offer almost nothing to explain mass apathy, or to change it.

Religious and ethical revolutionaries have preached the reconstruction of the human spirit. They point to man's weakness, his hostility and "sinfulness," his inner unfreedom. But while they may lift a few rare souls above the ordinary human lot, they too have been powerless to enable the mass of the people to liberate themselves either from oppressive social institutions, or from their inner misery.

Only since Freud have we really become able to phrase meaningfully the questions: How do weakness, fear, apathy, hatred of self and others become engrained in the lives of the masses of people? How might they—we—be liberated?

The Role of Freud

FREUD DID NOT, of course, discover human emotions, or human sexuality, or the unconscious life of man. But he gave us an understanding of them which is one of the significant new discoveries in human history. Just as nuclear fission made it possible for the first time actually to tap powers within the atom which men had sensed for centuries but could not practically utilize—so Freud's discoveries made it possible to begin to release human energies which man had previously known about, talked about, but had not been able to liberate.

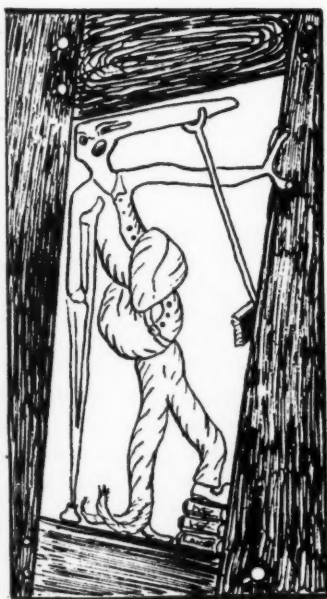
Freud himself was not, unfortunately, the revolutionary critic of society which he might have been. Under the impact of the human misery and evil which he uncovered, and the hatred with which respectable society turned upon him, he became pessimistic and resigned. Eventually he came to rationalize what he had disclosed—to regard the distortion of human emotions not primarily as the result of badly organized social institutions, but as the price which men must pay for living in society at all. Thus neither he nor most of his followers have been able frankly to tell their patients the obvious truth: that they can begin to live decent emotional lives only by putting themselves radically at odds with existing society.

The Crippling Toll

BUT SINCE FREUD, we can now understand, as never before, how oppressive social institutions get under our skins and become so much "second nature" that it is difficult or impossible for us to criticize them. We can see how as tiny infants we learn to accept frustrations with resignation and apathy, instead of fighting back. We can see how we learn to transform our spontaneous protests at injustice into rationalizations of our enslavement. We can understand how we learn to turn our anger at society into hatred of our fellow-sufferers, into guilt over our own rebelliousness, into "nervous exhaustion" and the inability to go on fighting.

We can now know the terrible crippling toll which society exacts from our organisms. We can know how social suppression becomes "internalized" in the form

of chronic involuntary muscular tensions, which stifle our respiration, close our bowels, destroy our natural appetite and digestion, constrict our livers and other vital organs, desensitize our genitalia, distort our thinking, deaden our imagination, overtax our endocrine glands, prematurely destroy the elasticity of our blood vessels, create devitalized areas in our bodies which become focal points for the onset of degenerative disease and early death.



Now that we are able to lay bare the concrete processes through which society enslaves the personalities of men, we may also begin to formulate concrete methods by which we may undo that enslavement.

Fundamental Questions

TODAY WE CAN ASK fundamental questions of a kind which would have had little meaning half a century ago:

Why have 100 years of Marxian revolutionary effort failed to overcome the apathy of the masses and improve the spiritual condition of man?

Why have thousands of years of religious and ethical effort failed to bring man appreciably closer to the Kingdom of God on earth?

Why are both political and religious radical groups almost inevitably torn and frustrated by neurotic personality difficulties, conflicts of personality, internal struggles for power?

Why are both political and religious radical groups almost invariably indifferent or hostile to discussion of the connection between sexual and emotional suppression and social enslavement?

Why, in turn, have fifty years of orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis failed to revolutionize either the personalities of most patients, or the social order?

What truth is there in the belief of many political and religious revolutionaries that psychotherapy is a conservative or reactionary tool for destroying people's creative rebelliousness and adjusting them to the *status quo*?

Liberating the Revolutionary

ARE THERE TECHNIQUES of psychotherapy which—using the insights of psychoanalysis, of the social revolutionaries, of creative religion—may really be effective in unlocking and liberating the repressed revolutionary forces in man?

If so, must they be restricted to a few people who can pay for them, or are there ways in which large numbers of people can be helped to become at least a little more free?

Most important, can we learn how to bring up children so that they will be spontaneously revolutionary without need of therapy?

There are, I think, no more crucial questions than these for people who seek to bring hope in the midst of apathy, and liberation out of enslavement.

UTOPIAS, PROPERTY AND PLURALISM

GEORGE WOODCOCK

I FEEL that any unorthodox magazine of a radical kind can be useful just at present. When I first glanced at your announcement, I wondered for a moment whether what you were proposing would be another *Dissent*; I should not have objected if it had been, but I realize that it is something quite different, exploring a different aspect of the same terrain.

There were some points in the *Tract for the Times* that I did not wholly agree with. Firstly, I would say there were six, not four, root traditions. Surely the Greek tradition and that of the English Commonwealth period are just as important as those you mention. Secondly, I felt that, to the Critique of Liberalism and that of Marxism there should have been added one of traditional Anarchism. I feel that it is time to recognize that many of the Bakuninist and even Kropotkinist dogmas—though not all by any means—are pointless and even harmful in the modern world, and to say so. I was encouraged to see that you were coming out strongly for non-violence, but I hope you will not feel uneasy about criticising radicals as well as reactionaries on this point.

The Cul-de-sac of Perfection

I FELT UNEASY about your praise of the Utopian attitude. To me the essential element of the Utopia is that it is static, a dead ideal world in which progress has come to an end. All Utopias are like that; there is never anything provisional about them, there is never any other place to go to, and I think that it is this particular element of Utopianism that enters into Marxism and makes it a journey into a cul-de-sac. I think Proudhon's criticism of the Utopians on this basis remains perfectly valid today.

(The "Utopianism" to which the *Tract for the Times* referred is not the static concept to which Mr. Woodcock refers but an experimental attitude which "represents the growing edge of society and the creative imagination of a culture."—Editors).

I'd suggest that a good field of investigation in early issues might be the subjects on which socialists and

anarchists thought the last word had been said. For instance, there is the question of Property. Was Proudhon, after all, right in insisting on the right of possession for the individual farmer or craftsman? Is Kropotkinist "communism" an adequate solution to the question, or should we perhaps envisage a pluralist form of economy, which might include communities, individual "possessors" (like the members of the Mexican *ejidos* co-operatives) and perhaps some modified form of syndicate? It does seem to me that a multiform society of this kind, admitting a varied approach to the means of work, seems more likely to come about, and more likely to allow continued growth, than a doctrinaire Kropotkinist solution.

The All-or-nothing Trap

AND AGAIN, one may well ask, having envisaged this "ideal" system of property—or non-property—relationships, how is one to avoid falling into the all-or-nothing trap? How is one to relate it to modern property relations and to get in the thin end of the wedge, since only romantics believe any longer that the great change will come along with revolutionary *eclat*? All our problems we have to see, I think, in terms of a constantly nagged and prodded evolution. And this does not seem to me so fantastic a prospect as many radicals believe; what has astonished me in the last ten years is how many of the ideas put forward by Kropotkin and others like him have been appearing in partial and disguised and distorted forms, in modern American society. All these grotesque but real moves towards decentralization, the leisure society, the re-integration of mental and manual work, and so forth, should certainly be analysed in such a magazine.

I think a solid, substantial monthly (you must have space for long and serious articles) will do far more good than all the little sheets which come and go and seem to make an unerring and ephemeral progress from the press to the wastepaper basket.

Inglewood, California

Dear Editors:

I have long been devoted to the causes you espouse in your opening editorial. It has a frank and complete outline of a radical approach to problems that have plagued mankind, in one form or another, ever since the world began . . .

I venture to hope that you will see fit to accept articles or essays submitted by writers not presently known to you . . .

J. F. McDaniels

BY ALL MEANS—The Editors

Reflections of a Loving Alien

ROBERT GRANAT



I AM A NATIVE American, brought up in America, living in America. I am not a member of the Communist Party or of any subversive group, nor have I been since 1925. (Prior to this I was not born). Although I don't have to register with the government, or carry identification papers (yet), I am an alien nonetheless, as much as if I had been born on Lenin's desk. But I am a reluctant alien. Despite a real desire for integration and citizenship, I become more and more alienated every day.

Maybe you know the story about the little boy whose mother took him to see Santa Claus in Macy's.

"And what would you like me to bring you for Christmas, sonny?" old Santa Claus said, chucking the child under the chin.

"An electric train", the boy said.

Next they went to Gimbel's and visited the Santa Claus there.

"And what would you like me to bring you for Christmas, sonny?" old Santa Claus said, chucking the child under the chin.

"You bastard", the boy said, "I *knew* you'd forget."

What does one do when one has seen through Santa Claus? It would take more than the ordinary psychiatrist to re-erect a crumpled myth. (Though for a fee he would certainly try).

What does one do when one has seen through *Life* and *Time*? Nothing! You can't make what has become transparent opaque again. Alienation is setting in. If you are lucky you'll hold out and there's hope for you. If you're unlucky your personality will begin to split,

you'll become an alcoholic, a criminal, a suicide, a madman, a fanatic. Isolation is not the pleasantest sensation in the world.

To be alienated from the culture you would like to love is like losing your beloved to a fat rich old man—the same kind of pain.

How to Praise?

ONE LONGS ardently to identify himself with his surroundings. He would like, if he is a poet, to sing paeans, like Whitman. There is no joy like loving, like praising. But what is one going to write his love poems to? A fast buck? The eight millionth Mercury? A thirty-six inch bust? A hero who rose to preside over fifteen corporations at the age of twenty-two? Carbonated shaving soap? A woman who knows all the brand names?

Only God and nature, in abstract, or in manifest forms, are worth a poem. But this is a physiological civilization. The doctors are our high priests, the ad-men our philosophers, the men of quantity our heroes.

So what is there left to do? We who desire to love are obliged to excoriate. Because we must at least be honest or else we are really lost. Yet from our isolation, rejecting and rejected, we look on and continue to love and to hope. Why would we criticize, if we had no hope, if we did not love?

The alien for whom there is hope believes that behind him he has a tradition of alienation. And beyond him he has Truth, God if you like. And, he can conceive of God in any way that is natural to him. This alien, this loving alien—he can love because he is not consumed by self-pity—knows that all this rampaging materialism, all this perverse pragmatism, this enthronement of expediency, demonstrates to the people, who have forgotten, that no good can come of it, that it is a shameful and lying way for men to live and can lead only to destruction. The loving alien knows that this isn't the first time that men and women with a weakness for integrity have been alienated. He accepts his position and makes the best of it. He knows that he can best serve the people by guarding his integrity and by constantly training himself to be worthy of his insight.

Self-interest, ignorance, depravity are all pretty much

the same everywhere everytime. Darkness is darkness, the bottom is the bottom. But to measure the height of a structure one looks at the top, not the bottom. Humanity is as tall as its tallest men. Christianity is as great as Christ. America is as great as Jefferson and Lincoln and Thoreau. The twentieth century is as great as Gandhi and Schweitzer.

Revolution with a Future

THE WORLD, Gide said, will be saved by the few. Don't wait for the revolution, Frost said, the only revolution that's coming is the one-man revolution.

That's it, the one-man revolution. One by one by one. Until maybe on some morning inconceivably far away the whole world will have saved itself from its ignorance. One by one by one. This is the only revolution that has a future.

So there's hope, there's meaning in alienation. The alien is the yeast in the social dough . . . the alien, that is, the reluctant alien, who would rather not be one, who would rather identify himself completely with the environment in which his life must be lived.

My generation, the one born in the twenties, produced more aliens than the one before it. We were alienated singly, one at a time and place, unknown even to each other. We could see that capitalism is wrong. It shifts the emphasis to external circumstances and to hell with the inner effects; it shifts the values from effort to reward, from quality to quantity. The generation before mine, in the 1930's especially, may have been hoodwinked by the idea of Communism. But my generation scarcely got a chance to get disillusioned. We saw that Communism was just capitalism with different pants on. We rejected both of these colossi.

Blackboard Jungle

THE ALIENATION of the generation after mine is more pointed. They seem to become aware at ten years of age of things we discovered at twenty. Whereas we were characterized by apathy, half-heartedness, nihilism and confusion, they are more violent in their rejection. We felt a little guilty, they do not. They smoke reefers, they rob, they are at home in violence.

These children of our future: what's going to help them and us? An alien can see this more clearly than the school principals and the probation officers. Not more playgrounds, not more amusements. In a society too busy grubbing for funds to pay for its luxuries; in a society seduced by the ad-man's glittering set of values; they get in society's way. There is no time. What do the ad-men say to do for the kids? Buy them off, get them stuff, give them fun. This, of course, is a lie. What they need is to be loved—recognized would be a better word—to have a useful function in society. The kids know what's up, and the aliens are on the increase. We may be producing a whole generation of aliens, though

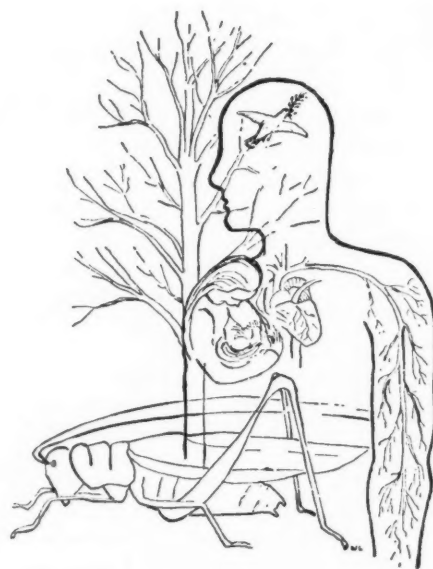
not necessarily loving ones. How to spread love and respect and a sense of value is our problem.

Even Henry Luce has admitted at times that the popular respect for enterprise and work, which gave this country its vitality, is now changing into a respect for consumption and rewards. It's still o. k. to get something by working for it. But if you can get it without working, by cheating in an accepted way, better yet. This is the order of the day. The students terrorizing their teachers have got this straight.

The Emperor is obviously naked. The social fathers never say a mumbling word, either because they fear, or are truly ignorant, or else for craftier reasons. But the little boys in the juvenile courts shout right out. Something stinks!

The Way Back

FOR MYSELF, I must confess that I believe in God. I am aware of God in two of his aspects. First, in the orderliness and beauty of the universe, the infinite array of marvels, from the mathematics of galaxies to the workings of my central nervous system, from the beauty of grasshoppers to the beauty of the mother and offspring. Secondly, since to be aware only of his forms would not be enough, I am also aware of him internally. I feel him as a need to act with love; to act without selfishness, as a yearning for a pure joy that the senses and the mind don't have the power to give me. I feel him as an inner knowledge of perfection and a hunger after it.



I don't think things are rotten beyond saving. I think it is possible that without the slaughter of most of us we can learn to reject the scientist as holy-man, the ad-man as philosopher, the super seller and the super-buyer as folk heroes. There is more hope in the

genes of this country than in any other in history, except possibly India. The spirit of freedom is still there. We've got it and many others less radical have got it. But we drowse and make payments on our new refrigerators, while the bully-boys of active ignorance are out scrimmaging.

Keep alive, you loving aliens, keep hard and keep pushing at the truth. Don't let hate take you over and

petrify your souls. Act with love and guard your integrity. We are coming into a season that breeds prophets. For inevitably, whenever the people get lost, men are born to point the way back. And out of the aliens, the prophets will come. Not the prophets of doom and destruction, but prophets of the way of love and peace, pointing to a positive integrated society where only fear, exploitation and hate will be alien.

TWO FOOTNOTES ON MONTGOMERY

A Letter from a White Southerner

The editors discussed whether to ask Bayard Rustin to omit from his *Montgomery Diary* the leaflet picked up at the White Citizens Council meeting on February 10th. It was felt that reproducing such a venomous diatribe might give an erroneous impression of the views of the WCC. We wrote to Aubrey Williams, editor of the *Southern Farmer*, to ask his views on how representative of WCC opinion the leaflet was. Here is his reply:

Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Editors:

March 19, 1956

I have checked with two persons who were at the meeting on the 10th of February and they both tell me that they did not see such a handout passed around.

As to whether the WCCs would approve the position taken in the leaflet, that would depend. They would doubtless not want to take a public position on such an extreme position at this time. But there is not much in it that they would not subscribe to in any final showdown.

They do not judge public opinion to be now at the stage which would condone such a position, that is the reason they would not subscribe to the position taken.

They are trying to hold as large a segment of Southern opinion behind their main position as possible. And they know that they could not carry this majority with them if they talked in such violent terms. But the leaders of the WCCs and all similar organizations harbor such sentiments. At least if you can take their current statements to mean what they seem to. They say we must not permit the slightest break in the segregation wall, for that will mean the crumbling of it in its entirety, etc. They would use more moderate words but they would agree with Faulkner who said last week he would shoot Negroes in defense of Mississippi . . .

Aubrey Williams

A Comment from the Negro Press

It is too early to say that great non-violence fighting of Mahatma Gandhi has taken a toe-hold in America. But it is not too early to say that the stern religious idea has been grasped and inaugurated. There is no doubting that the religious leaders, particularly the youthful Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., have the Gandhi movement as their goal. But there are some qualities in the Gandhi method that may be very difficult to carry out in a country where comfort and ease are so commonplace.

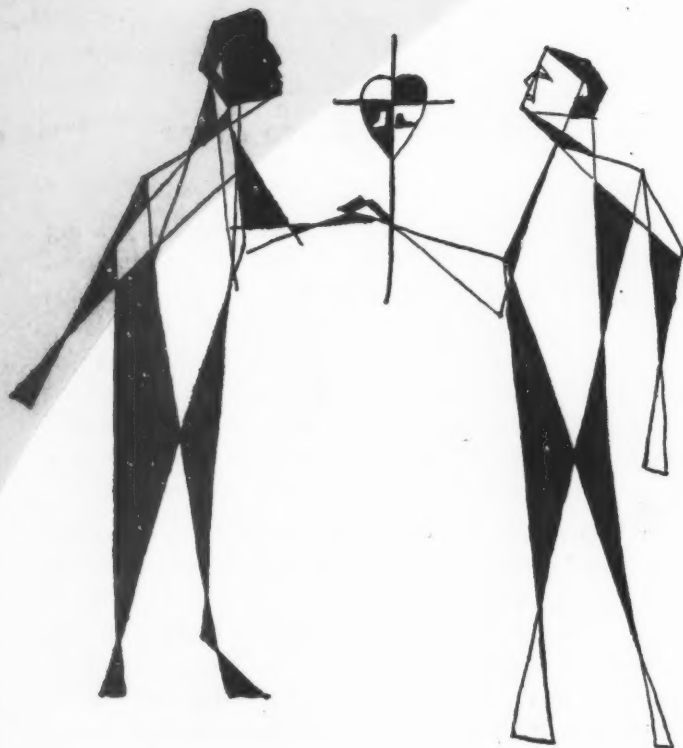
Here are some fundamentals of the Gandhi movement: The "passive resistance" is only one step in the plan which is called Satyagraha (truth grasping). Here the requirement is that one must be willing to die. Furthermore, you must continue to LOVE your enemy who would kill you! The non-violent man can use no outward weapons—his weapon is invisible. The tyrant and the unjust may have the material weapons and power, but they have no power whatsoever over the soul! (The British had all the power and weapons, Gandhi's followers none!)

The question now is, how determined and how conditioned are the Negroes in Montgomery to carry through a persistent non-violent, self-sacrificing boycott—for months, for years if need be? Thus far from the way they have been led and have responded, they appear to be good followers of the Gandhi way. It would be the most revolutionary act in America if they do prove their souls are beyond defeat by the unjust forces of power and tradition in Alabama. The great thing about the non-violent fight if it is wholly dedicated, once it becomes active among men, is that it travels with extraordinary velocity and accomplishes miracles.

The St. Louis American, March 1, 1956

April, 1956

*The articles on Montgomery in this, the second, issue of **LIBERATION** are more than fascinating reading matter. They are events—actions—in a history-making struggle.*



To bring these developments to the attention of as many persons as possible, to stimulate further non-violent action against segregation and inequality, South, North, East, and West—that is the business of the hour.

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